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Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 756 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognized by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. [624] [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gámúlva* or *kaká't*,[1] but he is also known as *hanátdvá*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *múlovagídjígdtá*. Jess differentiated between them by *múlvák'idjá* and *pagámúlvákavatéha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kaloia* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwákwi*. [171]

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called good-man (information from R. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is *hom-ak-khal* (Tripp, 868).

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624 [183] They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would 624 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If 626 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you [which is purely a threat]. If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate 624 occasions (*akwigwauig*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The [156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others [554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any [701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess 624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis- 554 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications 428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Waaákwívámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

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It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs; at the same time it is recognised that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman.

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions.

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organiser of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him.. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I

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think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115] Panamida's father, Wasákwivámă was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 357). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wasákwivámă big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wasákwivámă died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wasákwivámă's father was not a chief. His three sons, Tayadjávă (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1856] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

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daylight they set out. They found him camping a little way up that canyon. They seised him, split him down the breast and belly with a hatchet, and broke back the ribs. Then they threw the corpse aside and came back.[1] Navajo had talked very emphatically, saying what he wanted done, and they did what he said. So the people said to him, "You are a big chief." 159 624 648 754

Navajo's mother was made sick by another Walapai shaman down here in the village. He sent his spirit to her: she died. That Walapai shaman became afraid of Navajo and fled. Navajo heard that the shaman had been gone only a little while, when he set out to kill him. The shaman with his wife and father had climbed halfway up on the white cliff on the west side of the canyon, when they looked down to the canyon bed and saw Navajo coming. Navajo followed them up the white cliff. The shaman and his father was nearly to the top when he told his father to go along the face of the cliff to hide. The shaman and his wife then fled across the plateau. When they were a little way from the rim, the shaman sent his wife ahead along the road. She went along by herself. The shaman said, "I will go down into Mátakwáṡa canyon [the next one west of Cataract] and climb up on its west wall. I will meet you at a certain place beyond there." And he went across that canyon. When Navajo was halfway up the white cliff, he saw the old man above him walking along a ledge near the top. Navajo climbed up and went back a little way from the rim, but could find no one's tracks. He stopped there and turned back in the direction the old man had taken; he thought he would kill him. He ran to the rim and walked along the ledge toward the old man. When he met him, the old man said he did not want to be killed. He called Navajo his relative, "Sódjă, sódjă,[2] I do not want you to kill me. I am a pretty old man; I will not live much longer." Navajo did not listen to him; he had a long sharp knife with which he stabbed him all over. Navajo was a pretty bad man. Those two Walapai shamans did wrong to kill our children and women. Navajo killed two men for it, and the Havasupai said, "You are a big chief now." 682

Not very long after this, a Paiute man came down that same trail. Navajo asked him where that Walapai shaman was camping. The Paiute said he did not want to tell him; he had not seen the camp. They asked him repeatedly, but he would not tell. Finally, after they had given him many presents, he said, "Yes, I know where his camp is. That is where I come from; he camped with us." The Havasupai gave him corn and many other things. When the Paiute went away, Navajo and three other men went with him. When they climbed to the plateau, Captain Navajo said, "I do not feel strong enough to walk along with you: I think I will go back" and he sent the three others with the Paiute. They went on, reaching the camp when it was a little dark. The Paiute man said, "Hide in the woods while I go to the house." He said, "After I have gone to the house and everyone is asleep, I will come back and show you where his camp is. Then you can kill him." So they waited until midnight, when the Paiute man came out and told them. He led them quietly and showed them the man's house. The Walapai shaman was lying close to a little fire. One went in and shot him through the head, killing him. Then the three returned at once and told Captain Navajo, "Yes, we killed the shaman." Navajo said, "All right, that is what I wanted." Everything Captain Navajo said, the people did. They killed that man; then they made him the big chief. Wasákwivámă, who was big chief, was still alive at the time Navajo killed these men. So these two men were both big chiefs at the 624 159

[1] This is identical with a mythical incident.
[2] For *su'ldjga*, a man's older brother's son.

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159 same time. Wasákwivámă lived for a long time after this. I was a lad at the time
624 [about 1860–65].

Captain Navajo took quite a few men with him to Oraibi. The night they got
648 there, while they slept in a Hopi house, some Navajo raided and took away all their
159 horses. The other Havasupai stayed in the Hopi house, but Captain Navajo and a
624 Hopi friend, who gave him a horse to ride, followed the horse tracks. They went on toward the east until when it was nearly sunset they reached the top of a high mesa. They looked down into the bottom land, where they saw a lot of Navaho houses, with a great many horses nearby. They waited on top of the hill until it was a little dark; then they descended the trail toward the houses. The Hopi man said, "The Navaho do not turn their horses loose. They keep them close to the houses at all times. They keep their saddle horses tied to the house and continually ride out to watch the herd. I think that they will see us, and perhaps they will kill us. I think I am afraid to go down there with you. I will stay here, while you go alone and try to cut some out of the herd. I will wait here." So Captain Navajo went down alone. He went near, tied the horse he was riding, and walked close to the houses to look at the horses. He walked among the houses, where a few horses were tied to each one, until he came to a house where the greatest number was. A few were hobbled; he took the hobbles off, and walked away, driving the herd slowly before him. He got back to where he had tied his horse, and then drove them fast up the trail. Just as he got to the top of the mesa, he heard the Navaho shouting below. Then he whipped his horse and came back as fast as he could. The Hopi man had already gone. "Perhaps he was afraid," Captain Navajo said. When Captain Navajo was halfway back two colts began to nicker: they kept this up, so he shot both with his arrows. He brought the horses into Oraibi just as the sun was rising. The Hopi said they were glad. The other Havasupai had all gone home while he was away; some walked, others bought horses to ride. The Hopi said, "Hurry and eat, and then go right along." While he was eating, they prepared provisions for him to carry. The Hopi said, "Maybe the Navaho are following you and are nearly here. You had better hurry." One of the Hopi men helped him drive the horses. They drove them fast down from Oraibi mesa and on along the road. After they had gone only a little way from Oraibi, the Navaho came into the pueblo. The Hopi said to them, "He brought the horses in before dawn; he ate a little and then left before it was daylight. He has been gone a pretty long time. We think he is now on the other side of the Little Colorado River." The Navaho said they wanted to follow at once. But the Hopi said, "When he went over and took your horses, the other Havasupai who were here had half their herd left and they went back. Perhaps if you follow him you will run into them and they will kill you." Thus they lied to the Navaho. The Hopi wanted to hold the Navaho at Oraibi. So the Navaho turned back. The two men drove the horses along as fast as they could. When the horses they were riding began to slow up, they changed to other horses; they did this all the way. They followed the tracks of the other Havasupai who had gone before. They crossed the Little Colorado just above the present bridge and when they were a little way beyond on this side, at Háⁿy átovok$_y$óvă (black water precipice), they caught up with the others. Everyone felt glad. Captain Navajo did this by himself; he went alone to the Navaho camps and stole horses, so the Havasupai called him a big chief. All the other tribes around heard about him and when they saw him, called him big chief too. He was a big chief all his life long and died [about 1900] when he was an old man.

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The Walapai know Captain Navajo as chief very well. After his death, the Walapai big chief thought who would be big chief here: "I think that old man Captain Cave would be pretty good, but he is a very old man and could not be chief long." Next he thought of me [Sinyella] and of Supai Charley [Wasákwivámă's oldest living son], but he thought Manakadja, who is related to Nava'o, would be better. "He is not old; I think he would be pretty good; I think he can take Navajo's place." We had no chief, so we took Manakadja in his place at once. Manakadja had never done anything notable but we accepted him. They called him just a little chief [?—I think he means that Manakadja would only be a little chief if the agent did not recognise him as head chief]. The Walapai big chief and Captain Navajo were fast friends; that is why he interfered. The Havasupai owed no allegiance to him. 624 648 159

Captain Jim was [probably] not a chief before Navajo's death. He always went to the Walapai death ceremonies, where he would make speeches after the Walapai chief. So the Walapai call him a little chief. Our people do not call him chief. [This is not true.] Perhaps if Manakadja or Captain Jim died, one of their half-brothers would take his place.

My father's paternal grandfather was a big chief, a very big chief. He had two wives, each bore him two boys. The oldest brother was told, when he was a young man, that he would have his father's place. He was big chief a short time when the enemy killed him. The oldest boy by the other wife was told to be big chief; after a very short time the Yavapai killed him too. This man's younger brother was made big chief; he was killed by the Paiute after a short time. The last one was made big chief when he had grown to manhood. They said, "We want you to take your brothers' place and be big chief." This one was my paternal grandfather. He had two sons; the younger died. The older was my father. When my grandfather was killed, people said that his big chieftainship was gone. So they did not call my father chief. After my father died, I traveled everywhere so that the Walapai, Oraibi Hopi, and the Navaho came to know me well and they called me little chief. I did not want to be big chief.

Dean [Sinyella's second son] said to me, "You are descended from the big chief, but you are not big chief. Pretty soon you will die; then I will be big chief." Lenoman [the oldest son] will be little chief in my place, but Dean wants to be big chief. He said, "That big chief down there [Manakadja] don't go about. When I am big chief, I will ride around all the time and talk, talk, talk." I said to Dean, "I will die soon and then you will be big chief." Watahomidja will be a big chief too some time. 624 159

Watahomidja is a little chief; his father was not. But he inherits the chieftainship from his maternal grandfather who was also little chief by inheritance from Pa'hlégа'mf'I. Watahomidja is a good man, and old enough. He tells the people what to do, and they do it, for his advice is good. Soon they will call him big chief, because he is related to Pa'hlégа'mf'I. I hear him; he talks well.

Big Jim's father was not a chief, but his older brother was a little chief. Big Jim took his place when he died. The Walapai, Hopi, Navaho, and Yavapai all know him: he is a good friend of theirs, so they call him little chief. [Jess added that if Big Jim died they might call Little Jim, his half-brother by the same father, chief in his place.]

The principle involved in these cases is clearly that a man is recognized as a leader because of a combination of distinguishing characteristics, bravery, enterprise, and shrewdness. There is a tendency to transmit 428 624 554

[Text continues on p. 243]

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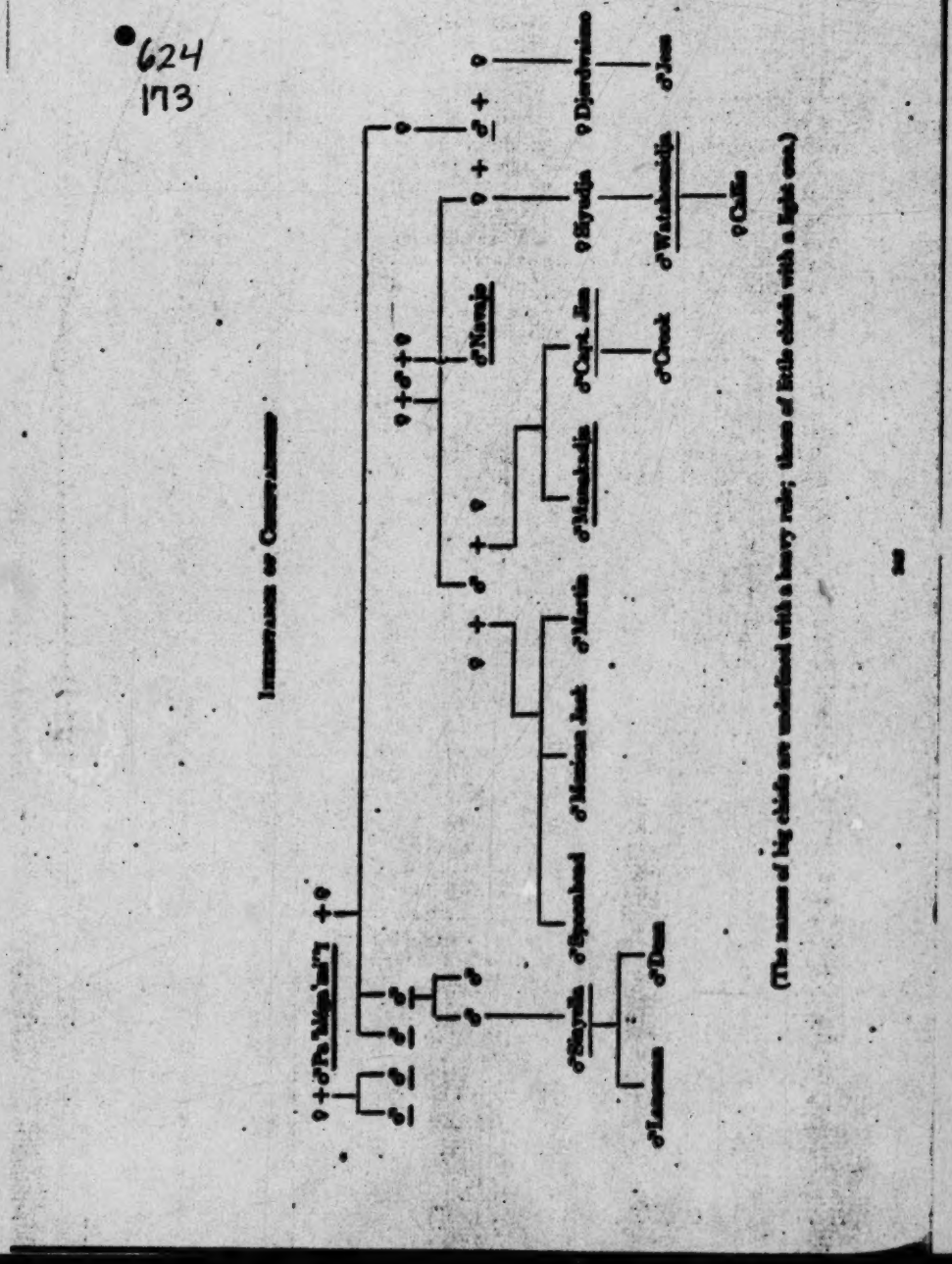
Intermarriage or Consanguinity
(The names of big chiefs are underlined with a heavy rule; those of little chiefs with a light one.)

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the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognise that he has inherited the status. 428 554 624

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. Big Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . ." Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . ."; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . ." Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory: they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every man's speech there was a chorus of approval; *Adalgd*, good. The Walapai brought and passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making 623 623 648 623 648 805 211

[1] These speeches were not recorded.

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713 with a thong tied to one side to form a handle. This was carried in the left hand to protect the face. Such armor would turn arrows.

A shield-like device was formed by hanging one or more heavy buckskins like a curtain from a bow held out horizontally before the body. Arrows striking this curtain would either fall harmlessly or hang in it. Men with such temporary shields and those with armor carried 726 clubs in their free hands. They were expected to advance steadily in close formation in the forefront of the attacking party. Others followed with bows drawn closely crouching in this protection. The bearer would lower his curtain-shield an instant while his companions shot, and quickly raise it until they were ready to fire again.

The curtain-shield is credited to the Walapai and Yavapai by my 171 informants. The usual rawhide circular shield (*ɑ́ʋɑkóʋɑ*) is not made by 411 the Havasupai, although it is said to be used by the Hopi. Slat armor is not made. Spears are not used, but they have been seen in the hands of the Yavapai and Hopi. Cushing, however, credits them with a wooden pike about 125 cm. long, pointed and hardened in the fire.[1]

In taking the offensive, as against the Yavapai, they proceed to 726 the neighborhood of the enemies' camp and wait in hiding while a few scout ahead. When scouts are out of contact with their own party, or [198] when they fail to find the enemy, they communicate with one another by calling in imitation of the horned owl, coyote, or screech owl (*ɑɑɑ́ɑɑ́ɑ*, a little bigger than a man's fist and having horns). If they locate the enemy, they return without disclosing their presence by such calls. Then all move together, approaching the enemies' camp in the night. The bull-roarer is swung to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before the wind. A short time before dawn, some surround the camp, while the others remain waiting for the first flush of daylight. As soon as they can barely see, those in the main body rush into the camp, shouting and clapping their mouths.[2] The enemy, confused with sleep, attempts to flee, but those surrounding the camp wait to catch and club or shoot them. So far as I know it was not customary to take [727] captives. There is no special war leader, either on such raids or in [624] defending the canyon home; those who are chiefs are normally leaders.[3]

Scalps (*ɑɑwɑwiá'ɑ*, scalp; *ɑɑwɑɑwɑ*, hair) were taken, the cut being 727 made around the margin of the scalp. "Taking the scalp is like taking the hide of a deer; the man who kills the enemy gets the scalp." (The

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.
[2] Cf. Mohave (Pettie, 133).
[3] Cushing, (a), 551.

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171 591 ramento Valley are matrilocal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilocal residence.[1] Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

171 587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuñi, Yuma, Kamia, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseño do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Clifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.[2]

171 624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuñi there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.[3] Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.[4] Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.[5]

It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, Gallinomero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.[6] Clan chiefs, [614] who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

[1]Goddard, (e), 1st ed., 162; Curtis, II, 83; Mason, J. A., (d), 183; Lowie, (h), 275-278; McKern, 238; Dixon, (a), 239-241; (e), 217; Spier, (a), 310; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

[2]Kroeber, (j), 90; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 432; Lowie, (i), 275; Clifford, (b), 239; Bolton.

[3]Stevenson, M. C., (a), 166; Dumarest, 1926; Russell, (d), 196.

[4]Parsons, (e), 200-202; Curtis, XII, 221; I, 55; Goddard, (a), 1st ed., 163; Lippa, 35; Franciscan Fathers, 432.

[5]Bolton.

[6]Kroeber, (a), 278; Clifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Reid, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, (but the Salinan chief is "selected because of his bravery"); Powers, 174, 346, 353, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 223; Faye, 43; Barrett, (b), 9; Lowie, (i), 282-283; Dixon, (e), 216; (d), 301.

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office among several southern tribes: Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeño, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Luiseño. The last two at least also have village chiefs who do not inherit their positions, but Gifford's belief is that these functionaries are of modern origin.[1] Kroeber writes,

> In general it seems that chieftainship was more definitely hereditary in the southern half or two-thirds of the state than in the north central area.[2]

In northwest California (Hupa, Chilula, Yurok, Tolowa) leadership is based on wealth but since this is inherited there is practically the same situation as elsewhere. Much further north the Wishram and Wasco have hereditary chiefs, and from this point northward there is an hereditary class almost everywhere.[3]

Non-hereditary chiefs may be the general rule in the Basin and eastward; at least they are recorded for the Northern Maidu, Klamath, Shivwits Paiute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kiowa.[4]

Inheritance of chieftainship as in the Havasupai case does not argue any special authority. Kroeber interprets the Californian data as meaning

> that the authority of the chief was considerable everywhere as far north as the Miwok, and by no means negligible beyond.[5]

But this certainly does not apply to the Havasupai and some of their neighbors (Tointeaa[6] and Shivwits Paiute, Southern Diegueño, Cocopa). Here the function of the chief seems purely advisory, and the stereotyped form this takes among the Havasupai has an even more specialized appearance among the Tointeaa[6], Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Cocopa,[7] where the chief begins the day with a shouted announcement of what the people are to do or other general admonitions. There is a possible connection of this crying through the camp with the Pueblo crier's function.

The word-for-word repetition of formal speeches is the custom of groups north of the Havasupai. The Paviotso appoint an individual to repeat the speeches at a council and Mooney observed that these were repeated verbatim after each sentence. Lowie also noted that a storyteller expects his listeners to repeat each paragraph of his tale.[8] Powell's account also suggests a similar functionary when a Kaibab chief tells a

[1] Gifford, (a), 166, 173, 174, 181, 187, 193, 202, 206, 213; Spier, (c), 309; Sparkman, 215.
[2] Kroeber, (c), 285.
[3] Goddard, (a), 58; (d), 271; Powers, 45, 60; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 918.
[4] Lowie, (a), 209; Spinden, 242; Mooney, (c), 233.
[5] Kroeber, (c), 286.
[6] Lowie, (j), 284; field notes on the Cocopa. I add the Navaho and Apache from a somewhat hazy recollection of what I heard among them.
[7] Hopkins, 54; Mooney, (b), 770; Lowie, (i), 359.

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1910, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about these. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*hdnly*", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamida, a chief, hallowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakinja, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison; the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 207). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*gwellkómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gwellkómidt'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 537 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

ĥyámátvĭ	mà'évàhag'ĭ'ĭ	ddyĭlnĭyddjĭk
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live
áhánĭgwayóhag'ĭ'ĭ		ma'évàhag'ĭ'ĭ
I want always to live well		ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kahd't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamids at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:-[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 253.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is
764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day.
●[624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners
[171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the
[178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such
768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse
[783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being
764 178 burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule,
768 179 the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year
768 [183] [428] or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 891.

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly 758
acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon.

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form 152
of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, 571
the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweathodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son [736]
was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, [603]
who now took charge of him.

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the 515
Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splash- [871]
ing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweathodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid ex- [834]
posure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only in- [296]
frequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen.

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as 554
always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by 624
prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur.

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. 558
His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers.

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is 555
apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard.

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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Hayella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 377; Trippel, 380; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 360.

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hands in the same way. When the greeting was finished, one of the Yavapai, who knew Wasákwivámă, said, "All right, we just met you here; we will talk about being friends." Wasákwivámă said, "That is what I think; I want to talk friendly too." The big chief of Orailŭi said, "I want you Yavapai and Apache to stay right here by this spring. Then my people will bring their blankets and other things down here to trade. They will also bring things to eat." The Yavapai big chief said, "I do not want to do that. If I come to be your friend, to visit for a few days, we ought to go right into your houses. When a man travels around to visit, nobody leaves him outside this way. We want to go inside your houses and sleep there. Your people should treat mine right." The Havasupai all said the same. "That is the best way. If all go in there, it will be all right," they said to the Hopi chief. So he said, "All right." They all went up into the town and scattered, two or three men went into each house. 539

In the evening the Havasupai said, "We do not know which Hopi has the biggest house, so that all the chiefs can gather there and talk all night." One Hopi, we called Hopi shaman[1] (*mok"gloi'*,) was chief. "His house is all right; we will all go in there and talk," they said. When they were all in that house that night, they said to the Yavapai big chief. "You go ahead first and say what you think." So he spoke first: "My people have gone out to kill various tribes. We do that all the time, but it is wrong. We used to fight Mohave, Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and your people, the Hopi. We will not do that any more. This is the truth I tell; I do not lie. That is why I came over here." Wasákwivámă spoke next: "All right, that is a good way to talk. All of us—one tribe and another—living about here are pretty bad; when any man is traveling around, who we see on the road, we kill him. All the tribes do the same thing. It is not right. If a man wants to go to some place to visit another tribe, to stay there or trade, that is a good thing. We have been pretty bad to each other in the past; now we should not be so any more. I want it stopped."[2]

Then the Apache chief talked in his own language, but the others did not understand him. The Havasupai asked the Yavapai, "Do the Apache understand how to talk your language?" and the latter replied, "Yes, they talk it." The Yavapai said to the Apache, "You can talk our language to the Havasupai; they will understand what you say." Then the Apache chief repeated what the Havasupai and Yavapai chiefs had said.

[624]

[1] There rather is a recognition that the chiefs are thought of as priests by the Hopi, or it may be this was one of the ceremonial leaders.

[2] These colloquies bear out the Havasupai view that the primary function of a chief is spokesman for his people.

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 621 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 592 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 [562] [591] [177] Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 596 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- 177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- 156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaika*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle 882
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is ●[624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs